

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 32

December 1958

No. 4

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS AND TEACHER MORALE

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One of the consistent difficulties encountered by the research worker engaged in the assessment of morale is the problem of an adequate base line. Typically, researchers have attempted to establish a reference point by the use of various statistical procedures to produce a norm. Subsequent investigations are used to establish improved or deteriorating morale.

The study of morale is noted for its lack of consistent definitions, and the use of a numerical value as a reference point tends to obscure that element of morale which is a product of the occupation itself. It is proposed here that a process of occupational analysis and inspection will probably prove more useful than the typical statistical approach.

The occupational (morale) baseline can be explained as those occupational attitudes and values held by its members which seem to be built-in, and provides them with satisfying identification symbols and esprit de corps.

In occupations commonly classified as professional or near professional the attitude complex is more clearly in evidence than in those occupations where a long process of selection, training and licensure is not common.

The teaching occupation in the public graded schools in particular provides an example for analysis. The following account of the teaching occupation makes use of Caplow's systematic organization of the field of occupational sociology.¹

In addition to providing a framework for an occupation-situation analysis of teaching, the preceding analysis offers a basis upon which the adequacy or applicability of morale studies in other occupational

¹ Theodore Caplow, *Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

fields as they apply to the teaching occupation can be evaluated. Further, as morale scales are to be produced in an attempt to "measure" morale, an analysis of this type may provide some a priori evidence to explain the multitude of equivocations associated with attempts to explain the statistical findings.

An analysis of the structure of the teaching occupation should yield clues to the kinds of satisfactions and dissatisfactions persons in the occupation might experience as concomitants of the demands and rewards offered by the occupation. The analysis should provide a basis for discriminating between those satisfactions and dissatisfactions that accrue to the occupation in general, from those attributable to a particular school situation or to individuals.

THE TEACHER'S ROLE

The public school as a social institution contains two clearly distinguishable sub-organizations within the institution. These can be identified as elementary and secondary schools. Each type of school seems to make different demands and offer different rewards for its teachers. As the schools and the roles of the teachers differ on these two levels, it can be expected that their satisfactions and dissatisfactions will differ to some extent.

The origins of elementary education have been attributed to an extension of the family's inculturational role,² while the origins of the secondary school have been attributed to the province of religion. As society became more complex, the family was forced to assign the educational function to specialists who became known as teachers. Civilization left its primitive state, and religion expanded to include philosophy and science. The vocational role extended beyond the training of sachems and wise men. There are vestigial remains of these primitive roles in our present day schools. In this context, the educational shibboleth, "elementary schools teach the child while secondary schools teach subjects "bears a grain of truth." Carried further, the elementary teacher is acting as a mother or father substitute while the secondary teacher is replacing the wise men.

The satisfactions and dissatisfactions of teachers on the two levels can be expected to be different. The two levels attract and hold teachers with different aspirations and expectations. Where these aspirations and expectations do not materialize, we may expect to find dissatisfactions, hence low morale.

The differing functions of the schools suggest why women find

² Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932).

teaching in the elementary school more satisfying than do men and vice versa. The male-femaleness composition of school faculties differ at each level, including higher education. The composition is related to the function of the school and also affords an indication of what types of satisfaction-dissatisfaction experiences we might expect to find at each level.³

THE TEACHER'S LABOR MARKET

Each labor market has its advantages and disadvantages for the employee. Since teachers have entered their occupation by choice, after a long period of preparation, we may assume that they have weighed the advantages and disadvantages in teaching before making this choice. Their job satisfactions would tend to be greatest where the expected advantages were maximized and the expected disadvantages were minimized. The teacher's labor market and the occupation afford clues to the satisfactions and dissatisfactions it may offer to its members. Public school teachers are part of the bureaucratic labor market.⁴ Other occupations in this market are civil service types. The market may be distinguished from other labor markets because of its restricted supply, the peculiar nature of demand and the dominance of non-monetary considerations.⁵

Specific qualifications based on education and experience exist for each position, with a hierarchical system of classification of positions where status and salary are closely coordinated. A degree of permanence of employment called tenure, and a stability in the wage structure which is in constant lag both upwardly and downwardly, in comparison to non-bureaucratic labor markets applies. Also peculiar to this market is the control of occupational behavior through licensing, codes of ethics and various formal processes to elevate the members competence and status.⁶ In addition, a character element is required in this market, which is especially marked in the teaching occupation. The necessary character qualifications usually mean the absence of a criminal record, alcoholism, scandal, financial irresponsibility; and for teachers especially, to involve sex, race,

³ Wilbur B. Brookover, *A Sociology of Education*, (New York, American Book Co., 1955) p. 263-291.

⁴ Max Weber, "The Essentials of Bureaucratic Organization: An Ideal Type Construction," *Reader in Bureaucracy*, ed. by Robert K. Merton, et al (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952) p. 18-26.

⁵ Caplow, *Op. Cit.*, p. 150.

⁶ Robert K. Merton "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," *Social Forces* XVII (1940), pp. 560-568.

religion and a willingness to live in the community as additional requirements.

SUPPLY

The distribution of the sexes in teaching levels points to several indices of satisfactions-dissatisfactions we might expect to observe. Women are characteristically cast in certain occupational roles in our society. In occupations open to both men and women, men are usually accorded opportunities for supervisory functions ahead of women. Men are usually committed to a life-time career of teaching while teaching is a short term occupation for many women, before marriage, between pregnancies, or after her children have grown and no longer need constant supervision.

The need for greater earning power, security, and promotion are of greater concern to men in teaching because of their traditional role as head of a household; while women are more concerned with pleasant working conditions and status. It can be argued that single "career" teachers, both male and female, do not fit these patterns. The majority of teachers, however, are married. Where an analysis of data in an investigation of job satisfaction morale indicates a large number of single "career" teachers to be on the faculty, the generalizations would not apply.

Another factor associated with occupations in which women predominate is the disposition to assign lower wage scales to these positions, because women are considered temporary workers, or supplementary money earners.

It is widely held that public school teachers are recruited mainly from the lower middle class and that they maintain these values at their work and in their home life.⁷ Where their apparently middle class values are not accorded merit, dissatisfactions may materialize.⁸ Teachers assigned to slum area schools reacted negatively to vulgar language and the uncleanness of the children.⁹

CONTROL OF OCCUPATIONAL BEHAVIOR

Occupational behavior is usually controlled by training and by adherence to sets of rules. In the training process, teachers are educated in a somewhat standardized fashion through their own experiences as students, and in the specific teacher training courses

⁷ W. Lloyd Warner, Robert L. Havighurst and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944).

⁸ Howard S. Becker, "The Role and Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954).

⁹ *Ibid.*

they must take to become licensed. In this process the prospective teacher becomes familiar with the mode of behavior expected and the profession's bureaucratic¹⁰ value system, with its personal dossiers, hierarchical, promotion system and high degree of conformity to superiors.¹¹

On the job the teacher relates his behavior to a code of ethics and a set of regulations contained in teacher's handbooks. In addition, there are numerous do's and don'ts which are supposed to be self evident and come under the title of common sense.

Education codes of the various states contain numerous sections covering in minute detail, the occupational behavior of teachers. These rules are accepted as the natural order and do not form a basis for feelings of excessive control or a source of frustration.¹²

CONTROL OF EXTRA OCCUPATIONAL BEHAVIOR

The control of extra occupational behavior in the teaching occupation stems from two sources. First, there are folkways and customs which have traditionally imposed restrictions on their out-of-work behavior and secondly, there are the rules of conduct enforced by fellow teachers which are deemed necessary to uphold the status of the occupation and to guard against the supposed effects their violation would have on the performance of the job. The control of extra occupational behavior of teachers is related to the size of the community in which they work. In large communities, the teacher's peculiar identification is obscured and extra occupational controls are difficult to enforce. In smaller communities, off the job identification with teaching is maintained.¹³ This close identification brings with it certain middle-class folkways which are often a source of irritation to teachers, especially those who are not attuned to the demands.

Standards of consumption need to be maintained, including appropriate housing, patterns of recreation, clothing, automobiles and a degree of church participation and the promotion of worthy causes. This at once demands a wage scale sufficient to meet these requirements.¹⁴ Dissatisfactions of teachers with financial returns are closely related to these institutional folkway demands. The distance between

¹⁰ Brookover, *Op. Cit.*, p. 185-204.

¹¹ Caplow, *Op. Cit.*, p. 69.

¹² Williard S. Elsbree and E. Edmund Reutter, Jr. Staff personnel in the Public Schools (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954) pp. 394-406.

¹³ Caplow, *Op. Cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁴ Jacob W. Getzels and Egon G. Guba, "The Structure of Roles and Role Conflict in the Teaching Situation." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXIX (September 1955) p. 30-40.

financial rewards and role expectations is especially marked in rural areas where teachers gravitate to the more well to do groups but cannot "keep up" with the standards of consumption.

Other behavior restrictions are sharp adherence to community morals which prohibit any form of suspected or actual sexual deviation, cruelty to children or neglect of family duty. Added to the list, but on the wane in even the smallest communities are prohibitions on smoking, dancing and social drinking. Public intoxication constitutes a legal restriction also and can be the cause of immediate dismissal.

Restrictions on political opinions of teachers also relates to the community size differential. In smaller communities political opinions and activities are carefully sublimated unless they reflect those of the dominant power group. In all communities, however, the teacher is expected to remain somewhat aloof from local political issues and to avoid being classified as a liberal or free thinker. A thread of conformity runs through most of these behavior controls.¹⁵

The control of extra-occupational behavior is so sharply delineated for teachers in our society that it brings into sharp focus the size of the task facing the occupation in its outspoken attempt to achieve professional status.

In any system of grading occupations or social classes, freedom of choice and a degree of immunity from moral sanctions is one of the definite prerequisites of high social status. Paradoxically, occupations closely associated with sacred elements (the ministry) and social responsibility (teaching) require that practitioners function as models and examples. Another element of confusion is interjected where special occupational restrictions on women are concerned. Attempts to become emancipated from these restrictions are slowly altering the low status attributes of teachers while at the same time this organized effort by the occupation provides an irritation media to its members.

This potential area of dissatisfaction is obviously quite subtle and complex. How its force could be evaluated in a given school situation would provide a whole field of possible investigations.

Certain occupational attitudes maintained by teachers in general could be examined. It is common in professional or semi-professional groups to create the distinction between lay and professional groups, certificated and non-certificated employees and to exaggerate distance between the groups. Teachers award their occupation higher status

¹⁵ Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York, Charles Scribner & Sons, 1936) p. 22-207.

than the public would be willing to concede and to underestimate its relative rewards. Teachers' prerequisites, i.e., numerous "holidays," extensive summer vacations, and retirement provisions, are advantages which tend to be minimized.

Consistent with the self accorded status is the competition with other groups for professional status. Noticeable in this context is the willingness of the college professor of education to consider himself a professional while he's reluctant to accord the same status to his products. As Caplow¹⁶ has pointed out, the survival of any occupational calling must be contingent on its ability to accord its membership a high degree of satisfactions and feelings of cohesion and solidarity. These attitudinal defense mechanisms are imperative for the continued operation of the organization and expectations in a study of morale in teaching would be to find a high level of satisfaction existant. It could be stated that those persons in an occupation who are at odds outwardly with the occupation's demands will either leave or form a hard corps of malcontents. In this case very few teachers who are unable to adjust to the occupational demands will remain in the occupation.

CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL ETHOS

Superimposed on internal attitudes of teachers is a verbalized allegiance to so-called modern education. This consists of a set of methods and values designed to implement pragmatism into educational practice. This condition introduces a degree of confusion to the occupation. The client's expectations are essentially wedded to authoritarianism. This often leads to a lack of communication between the teacher and client and provides an area of potential friction.

The authority dimension is further complicated by the cliché running through educational literature and in the lecture hall about "democratic school administration and supervision." This has provided a series of expectancies on the part of teachers out of reality with the traditional role of the authority figure in the public school.¹⁷ This situation colors teachers' attitudes about what is "good" in administrative practice and where this desirable set of conditions is not in evidence, a dissatisfaction element appears.¹⁸

¹⁶ Theodore Caplow "Criteria of Organizational Success," *Social Forces* XXXII (October, 1953), p. 1-9.

¹⁷ John A. Bartky, *Administration as Educational Leadership* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1956), pp. 96-104.

¹⁸ Becker, *Op. Cit.*,

BACKGROUNDS OF RURAL YOUTH PLANNING TO ENTER COLLEGE*

E. Grant Youmans

It is a truism to state that institutions—educational or otherwise—survive by satisfying human needs. When professional educators discuss curriculum programs, methods of teaching, and educational goals, it sometimes appears they have forgotten about the students they are serving. Wittingly or unwittingly every college instructor continually adapts course content to the needs and interests of students. Many college instructors are probably asking questions about prospective students: What kinds of students will they be? Will they be brighter and smarter than in the past? Will they be the “cream of the crop?” What are their family backgrounds? What are their educational and occupational experiences? What kinds of relationships have they had with their high school teachers and with their peers? Do they believe in education? What are their future plans? Do they plan to live in rural or urban areas? Answers to such questions as these would no doubt help the college instructor meet the educational needs of his students.

This paper examines the social backgrounds, school experiences, attitudes, characteristics, and future plans of a group of rural high school youth who expect to enter college. The data used were obtained in an attitude survey of youth age 16 and 17—and their families—from three Rural Development Pilot Counties in low-income farming areas of Kentucky.

In the 480 families interviewed, almost one-quarter of the youth (47 boys and 57 girls) said they planned to enter college. Although it is not possible to predict how many of these youth will be able to carry out their plans, it can be assumed that a number will attend college. It might be fruitful to anticipate how college instructors may best serve the needs of these—and other—rural youth.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS

Although the youth in this study are from low-income rural families their aspirations to go to college are consistent with the aspira-

*The study was sponsored jointly by the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, AMS, USDA, and the University of Kentucky. John R. Christiansen, formerly of AMS, USDA, directed the data collection. Margaret Jarman Haggood and Alvin L. Bertrand, AMS, USDA, and Howard W. Beers of the University of Kentucky provided general supervision.

tions of youth in other parts of the country. These aspirations are significantly related to socio-economic status of family. By means of a socio-economic status scale designed by Sewell,¹ the total sample was divided into three social status groups of equal number. Slightly over one-half of the youth who planned to go to college came from the high social status group. Approximately one-quarter came from each of the other two social status groups.

The youth varied considerably in their educational experiences. One-third of them had attended a one-room school. Four-fifths had taken vocational subjects in high school in addition to the general curriculum. One-half of the boys had taken courses in vocational agriculture and one-third had taken commercial subjects. Four-fifths of the girls studied home economics and one-half studied commercial subjects.

Apparently these students hold their high school teachers in high esteem. Nine-tenths of them said their teachers showed a great deal of interest in them. Although one-fifth said their teachers were too easy with them, four-fifths said they were about right in strictness. Approximately four-fifths of the youths planning on going to college said their teachers treated them fairly, never embarrassed them greatly, and never hurt their feelings badly.

The youth have been active in extra-curricular activities. One-half of the boys have been members of the Future Farmers of America and almost all of the girls have been members of the Future Homemakers of America. Three-quarters of both boys and girls have been members of the 4-H Club. One-third of the group have been officers in youth organizations. These youth appear to stand well with their peers, since only five percent admitted that their feelings had been badly hurt by other boys and girls.

Only one-third of the youth planning a college career said they had worked for pay. For the boys, the main paying job was farm work, although few waited on tables and did some clerical work. For the girls, the paying jobs were baby-sitting, nurses' aid, clerical work, and waitress. Only one out of ten boys said they had missed any time from school to help on the farm, and one of ten girls said they had ever stayed home from school to help with housework.

The occupational plans of these college aspiring youth do not appear very well formulated nor very high. One-quarter aspire to do "public work," a term in rural areas meaning almost any kind of

¹ Wm. H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-economic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, 8 (June, 1943), pp. 161-170.

nonfarm wage work. One-sixth said they wanted to do clerical work and one out of ten wanted to do farming. Only three percent wanted to enter a business or profession. Almost one-half said they could not do the work of their choice in their own county. One-third said they expected to settle in a city and the chief reason given was to find work.

Some significant differences² were found between the boys and girls expecting to go to college and those not expecting to go. Those expecting to go to college scored substantially higher on the Otis test of mental ability. The college aspiring youth ranged in score from 64 to 126 with a mean I.Q. score of 96. Those not planning to go to college ranged from 48 to 111 with a mean I.Q. score of 81. Fifty-one percent of the youth expecting to enter college scored over 96 in I.Q., but only 18 percent of those not expecting to enter college made such a score.

Although the mental ability scores of the young people are significantly related to socio-economic status, I.Q. score appears to serve as a selective factor in their college plans independent of social status of family. Regardless of socio-economic status of family, the youth of higher I.Q. tend to aspire to go to college. For example, in the low and middle social status group, only 9 percent of the youth with I.Q. scores of 48-95 plan to go to college, but 50 percent of those with an I.Q. of 96-126 have this expectation. A similar tendency is observed in the high status group. In this group only 34 percent of the youth with low I.Q. scores plan to go to college, but 60 percent of those with high I.Q. scores have such plans.

The young people planning to go to college said they maintain substantially higher grades in high school than did the youth who did not aspire to go to college. Over four-fifths of the college aspirants said they maintained a "B" grade or higher during their last year of school, but only one-half of those not planning to go to college made such a statement. It is recognized that the statements of the youth may not reflect their actual grades, but there is no reason to assume that the memories of the college aspirants are either better or worse than those not planning to go to college.

The college aspiring youth held significantly stronger convictions about the value of formal education than did the other youth. Their beliefs in the value of formal education were assessed by asking them two questions: "Will things learned in school be helpful in later life?"

² The .05 level of probability has been used in testing the significance of differences.

and "Can a person be successful without a high school education?" To both of these questions the students planning to go to college gave significantly more favorable responses than did the youth not planning to enter college. Nine-tenths of the college aspirants said things learned in school will be very helpful in later life, but seven-tenths of those not planning to enter college gave this response. Nine-tenths of the college aspirants believed a person could not be successful without a high school education, but seven-tenths of those not going to college believed this.

Very marked differences were found between these two groups of boys and girls in terms of their expressed interest in high school subjects. While almost two-thirds of the college-going group said they were very much interested in their high school subjects, less than one-third of the non-college-going group gave this response.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COLLEGE INSTRUCTION

The data on the rural boys and girls in this study who plan to enter college suggest a number of implications for college instructors. These implications may be assessed under three topics: (1) abilities, (2) needs, and (3) expectations of these youth.

The boys and girls planning to go to college evidenced abilities superior to those not planning to go. However, the prospective college instructor of these youth might be concerned about their ability to function adequately in a college environment. A mean I.Q. score of 96 leaves something to be desired. If I.Q. scores measure the ability to perform satisfactorily in college, undoubtedly a number of these young people would have some difficulty. However, the low scores made by some of the boys and girls probably reflect their impoverished social environment and their lack of familiarity with such paper and pencil tests rather than their lack of native mental ability. To the college instructor who is less interested in sheer brilliance and more concerned about values and attitudes, these rural youth have much to offer. The attitudes revealed by these youth suggest that they would be very responsive to a sympathetic instructor and that they could be capable of forming a friendly and even close relationship—something which experienced teachers say is essential to the learning process. The very satisfactory relationships these boys and girls have had with their high school teachers and with their peers, their firm convictions about the value of formal education, and their strong interest in school subjects suggest qualities which would make for very satisfying teacher-student relationships.

The outstanding needs of these youth are suggested by their rather

limited backgrounds. The paucity of social and occupational experiences available to these youth in a low-income farming area is revealed by their rather meagre and unimaginative occupational goals. College life can do much to spark their imaginations and broaden their images of the world. Those rural youth who plan to move to an urban environment will need reliable information on the adjustments required for functioning adequately in an urban community. Those youth who plan to remain in their present rural environments will need to be stimulated to search diligently for suitable opportunities to use their abilities, training, and skills.

The third implication is probably the most provocative: "Can college instructors fulfill the expectation of these rural youth?" Apparently the boys and girls in this study who plan to go to college have a very exalted image of the teacher role. Their experiences indicate that they will expect their college instructors to show a great deal of interest in them, to treat them fairly, to not embarrass them, and to be considerate of their feelings. Undoubtedly this exalted image of the teacher will be somewhat altered when these youth come up against the more exacting requirements of college.

Another expectation of these youth is indicated from the data. It is their overwhelming faith in the value of formal education. They indicate that they think school subjects will be exceedingly useful to them in later life and that they cannot be successful without formal education. Undoubtedly many college instructors, as well as many college graduates, would deny the validity of such a belief. However, the significant point is not the truth or fallacy of such a belief, but that it exists and that it poses a challenge to college instructors. Youth of all kinds will continue to go to college bringing with them their backgrounds, their needs, and their expectations. College instructors can perform a more effective teaching role by anticipating and meeting the needs and expectations of the youth they serve.

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THE RELATION OF ETHNOCENTRIC ATTITUDES TO
INTENSITY OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE
BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Gregory Shinert and Charles E. Ford

Adorno's study of Ethnocentrism (1) included comments on and analysis of the relationship between religion and ethnocentric attitudes. Other observations have been made by Bettelheim (2), Sanford (3), Allport (4), and Levinson (5). These may be summarized as follows:

1. Those who reject religion are less ethnocentric than those who profess a particular creed and, inversely, those with religious affiliation generally are more ethnocentric than those without such attachments.
2. There is a negligible distinction among the various religious groups as to the ethnocentric attitudes expressed, but that the more "liberal" sects are usually the least ethnocentric.
3. Ethnocentrism is usually influenced by the quality of the religious attachment; that is, whether or not the attachment is maintained for internal or institutional reasons. (6)

One study in particular points the way to further inquiry. This is the study described by Allport (7) in which two groups of laymen were selected on the basis of their attachment to their faith (internal or institutional) by a fellow layman who knew them well. All subjects filled out a questionnaire based on the E Scale. From the results of the study it was determined that those who were considered more devout (internal) were less ethnocentric than those whose attachment was considered to be institutional. Thus, it may be seen that this problem has many possibilities as to approach and analysis. The authors of this study decided that one approach would be a comparison of the ethnocentric attitudes among Catholic students in a Catholic university.

PROBLEM

What correlation exists between ethnocentric attitudes and the intensity of religious practice within a select group of students in a Catholic university?

Catholics are required by precept to receive Communion only once a year. Since being in the state of Sanctifying Grace and observing the Eucharistic Fast are two of the prerequisites for the reception of Communion, the frequency with which a Catholic endures the minor discomforts and receives Communion is considered a satisfactory indication of his level of religious motivation. In all cases under study opportunity for reception of Communion were equal.

The problem may be summarized as follows:

Is there a statistically significant difference between the daily Communicants (as evidence of internal attachment) and the non-daily Communicants (as evidence of an institutional attachment?)

PROCEDURE

The study was made on the campus of a Catholic university.

Four groups were selected for testing purposes. The groups and number tested are:

Seminarians from a House of Studies attending the university	54
Nuns from several convents attending the university...	63
Catholic laywomen attending the university.....	53
Catholic laymen attending the university.....	157
Total	327

The E Scale was selected (1) as the instrument with which to measure the ethnocentric attitudes and a direction sheet was written to determine the personal factors. The questionnaire was administered to the aforementioned groups in their respective residences on a voluntary basis, e.g., seminarians in the House of Studies, nuns in their convents, and the laywomen and laymen in their university residence halls.

QUALIFICATIONS

The findings of this instrument are based on an admittedly unrepresentative sample of the general student population. The authors made no conscious effort to administer this questionnaire to a random sample of the total population, either of Catholics in general, or university students in particular. Neither did we choose any one person selectively. As a corollary to the above statement, the authors were cautious in drawing their conclusions, limiting them to the specific rather than to the general. The authors took into consideration the principle that:

What is true of highly educated people, or of extreme ethnocentric or non-ethnocentric individuals, or of active participants in civic affairs, is not necessarily true of the majority of the population. (8)

It is further realized that, lacking a control over the important variable of formal education in the sample population tested, many

of the differences cited as determinants of ethnocentrism may instead merely reflect differences in the respondents' educational level.
(9)

Finally,

one can say that a certain respondent or group of respondents is high or low, for example, relative to a scale on ethnocentrism, or higher or lower than someone else on the scale. But the scale scores have no absolute meaning in relation to the total quantum of ethnocentrism. (10)

RESULTS OF TESTING

Upon completion of grading and assigning raw scores, the authors followed Adorno's method: a plus 1 score on the questionnaire indicated a high degree of anti-ethnocentrism, a plus 6 raw score indicated a high degree of proethnocentrism. The tabulations of the total scores were then arranged in a frequency distribution which represented a summary of all the information provided by all the testees on the questionnaire.

Since the main purpose of this instrument was to ascertain whether there existed a real difference in ethnocentrism between those students who receive daily Communion and those who did not, the scores were then tabulated into a "Daily Communion" group and a "Non-Daily Communion" group, as follows:

<i>Daily Communion Group</i>		<i>Non-Daily Communion Group</i>	
Seminarians	54	Laywomen	31
Nuns	63	Laymen	132
Laywomen	22		
Laymen	25	Total	163
Total			
164			

Gross comparisons of frequency distribution:

	<i>Mode</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>S.D.</i> <i>(Σ)</i>	<i>Q.D.</i>	$\Sigma 3$
Total group	3.145	3.126	2.896	.945	.635	-.044
Daily Communion group	1.945	2.560	2.374	.737	.490	+.228
Non-Daily Communion group	3.045	3.431	3.345	.864	.556	+.256

Measures of significance:

Following accepted statistical procedure, the Standard Error of the Non-Daily Communicants (M_1) and the Standard Error of the

Daily Communicants (M_2) was ascertained to be, respectively, .0678 and .0577. The Standard Error of the Difference between these two means was found to be .089, with a Critical Ratio of 9.79.

$$\text{Standard Error of } M_1 = \Sigma M_1 = \frac{\Sigma s}{\sqrt{n-1}} = \frac{.864}{12.728} = .0678.$$

$$\text{Standard Error of } M_2 = \Sigma M_2 = \frac{\Sigma s}{\sqrt{n-1}} = \frac{.737}{12.767} = .0577.$$

Standard Error of the Difference between Two Means:

$$\begin{aligned}\Sigma D_{1-2} &= \sqrt{M_1^2 + M_2^2} = \sqrt{(.0678)^2 + (.0577)^2} \\ &= \sqrt{.00459084 + .00332929} = \sqrt{.007920} = .089.\end{aligned}$$

$$\text{Critical Ratio: } \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\Sigma D_{1-2}} = \frac{3.431 - 2.560}{.089} = 9.79.$$

A Critical Ratio of 9.79 is significant at less than the one per cent level. Therefore, the difference found is significant below the one per cent level, and the null hypothesis is rejected. It may be concluded that this Mean of nine points did not occur by chance alone. We may be 99 per cent confident that there is a real difference between the degree of ethnocentrism of the daily communicants and the non-daily communicants.

CATEGORY ANALYSIS SECTION

Tables I, II, and III represent in percentage form the total positive, negative, and non-committal responses. Of the three tables, Table 2 is the most significant, in that it represents the most desirable data: that of a low degree of ethnocentrism.

TABLE I
TOTAL POSITIVE RESPONSES (Acceptance of Statements)

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Patriotism</i>	<i>Other Minorities</i>
Laymen	63.4%	23.5%	60.0%	43.5%
Laywomen	23.5	12.8	48.0	28.3
Nuns	20.0	9.5	38.8	26.9
Seminarians	11.0	3.0	26.0	17.4

TABLE II
TOTAL NEGATIVE RESPONSES (Rejection of Statements)

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Patriotism</i>	<i>Other Minorities</i>
Laymen	36.3%	76.2%	37.2%	56.3%
Laywomen	71.7	86.6	52.0	67.0
Nuns	76.0	90.5	60.2	69.1
Seminarians	84.0	96.0	72.0	78.6

TABLE III
TOTAL NON-COMMITTAL RESPONSES

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Patriotism</i>	<i>Other Minorities</i>
Laymen3%	.3%	2.8%	.2%
Laywomen	4.8	.6	.0	4.7
Nuns	4.0	.0	1.0	4.0
Seminarians	5.0	1.0	2.0	4.0

A vertical examination of Table II will show that in all categories the trend is the same: the laymen have the lowest percentage of negative responses, followed by the laywomen and the nuns. The last group, or the one with the highest percentage of negative responses, is the seminarians, who may be considered the least ethnocentric, according to these results.

Inspection of Table II will indicate that all groups have the highest concentration of scores in the "Negroes" column, indicating the least amount of ethnocentrism toward this category. The next highest category is "Jews," followed by "Other Minorities" and "Patriotism."

In consideration of the reactions of the four groups to the four categories it may be stated that:

1. The seminarians are the least ethnocentric, followed by the nuns, laywomen, and laymen—in that order.
2. The least amount of ethnocentrism is expressed toward Negroes, followed by Jews, Other Minorities, and Patriotism—in that order.

CONCLUSIONS

As was emphasized in the first part of the paper, the group tested was a very select one and therefore the results are applicable only to this group, and in no way can be construed to apply to all university students or to Catholic students in general. It is the opinion of the authors that the essential conclusions are obvious upon inspection of the various tables presented in the text. However, for the sake of clarity and completeness, the following appears to be evident:

1. That there is a statistically significant difference between the ethnocentrism of Daily Communicants (as evidence of internal attachment) and the Non-Daily Communicants (as evidence of an institutional attachment).
2. That the total group tested is non-ethnocentric to a marked degree.

3. That the Daily Communicant group appears to be more non-ethnocentric than the Non-Daily Communicant group.

4. That laymen, as a group, tend to be more ethnocentric than either of the three groups individually, or taken as a total, inasmuch as the preponderance of their scores are in the low (mean) range.

5. That when the total Religious group is compared to the total laity group, the Religious group evidences a considerably less degree of ethnocentrism than the laity group.

6. That there is a marked overlapping of scores between the two groups. The Daily Communicants show the greatest range, enclosing the total scores of the Non-Daily Communicants.

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THE SOCIOLOGY MAJOR AS A LIBERAL EDUCATION: A CURRICULUM, WITH NOTES ON HOW TO TEACH IT

Gwynn Nettler

The liberally educated man is often defined as one who is articulate, aware of his history, and sensitive to the eternal quest after the Platonic trinity of truth, beauty, and goodness.

And the Humanities, it is claimed, are the cornerstone of a liberal education. Their study *produces* "this kind of man," and, as though he were not good enough as described—articulate, aware, sensitive, we are further assured that the humanistically educated man will be a "better citizen" since he is armored with "independent judgment" and able to appraise "what should be valued." He will also be a staunch defender of freedom.¹

Such claims strain credulity and to utter them requires that special humility which the Gods-That-Were used to punish as *hubris*.² It may be doubted whether *any* college education makes that much difference. Character, in greatest part, precedes college entrance, and the impact of a professor, or any alliance of such, upon student judgment, taste, and sensitivity remains moot. Nevertheless, these Humanistic claims merit test even against the foreseeable disclaimers that (a) data-gathering is a low form of knowledge (intuition is better), and (b) "man cannot be measured" (a phrase that ill becomes the Humanist with his penchant for evaluating man, ranking him as more or less sensitive, aware, freedom-loving, and so on).

But while we are awaiting the doctoral dissertation that will isolate "The Role of Humanistic Education in the Character Forma-

¹ These arguments and their clichés appear so frequently they scarcely need documentation. But reference to a published college-dedication speech containing such a barrage will be given upon request.

² Public entertainers are not the only ones who praise "humility" while lacking it; litterateurs, too, have donned humble cloth that ill conceals their arrogance. Thus Shirley Letwin, "Twentieth century social scientists share Bentham's professional frame of mind and his enthusiasm for social gadgets but none of his humility." ("Jeremy Bentham," *Encounter*, 10 (April, 1958), 62.

Shakespeare warned us about such protest, Freud has seconded him, and, since Vierkandt has dignified the phenomenon by recommending it as a guarantor of morality, no one should be surprised that people who denounce a vice often display it. (G. A. Vierkandt, *Gesellschaftslehre*, Stuttgart: Enke, 1923, pages 394 ff.)

tion of 1,285 Representative College Men," I should like to advance a competing claim for the title of intellectual liberator, that of the behavioral sciences, sometimes recognizable as courses in anthropology, psychology, and sociology. And since this is not a report of what is, but only a suggestion of what might be, the concern here is not with who, today, is more "liberally educated," the "sosh" or the "lit" major, although properly qualified bets would be in order. I should like, rather, to take that behavioral science most often derogated by the Humanists, accused of every foul crime from elaboration of the obvious to voyeurism, unconscionable jargon, love of gadgetry and the alienation of man,³ and show how this discipline can be taught so as to contribute, as well or better than any schooling will, toward the making of a liberally educated person. If it is novel to regard sociology as humanizing, disbelief may succumb to a statement of what the sociology graduate should have learned through the ministrations of even a small department.

Since there are some liberal arts colleges of good repute that offer no sociology—or that persist in having it taught by the chaplain or "a social worker from town"—a list of "course concepts," as the educationist likes to call them, is offered below, followed by a suggested curriculum and recommendations for teaching it. The "course concepts" themselves define some of the perceptions characteristic of the liberally educated, but the teaching prescriptions, I feel, contain more of the attitudes deserving of Bachelorhood in the Arts and peculiarly to be taught through behavioral science.

CONCEPTS

"Course concepts" constitute the justifiable goals of instruction. They are the "ideas to be gotten over" with the course material as their evidence. The concepts to follow parallel some of the standard courses in sociology, but there is and should be overlapping and reinforcement.

It is contended that the student who understands the following ideas, their qualification and their grounds, is prepared, as well or better than any other Bachelor of Arts, for life as a freeman.

(1) *Method and Assumption.* Man in society is a natural phenomenon that may be studied profitably by those methods called scientific. These are public devices for controlling bias in observation.

³ "... I cannot help wondering if there is not some connection between this sense of alienation and the picture of man and society which sociology presents." J. W. Krutch, "If You Don't Mind My Saying So," *American Scholar*, 26 (Winter, 1956-57), 91.

(a) There are other methods than science for knowing about man and society, but none so reliable, accurate, or suitable for purposes of prediction and control.

(b) Any mode of knowing involves assumptions. The scientific study of man requires the assumption that human behavior is "caused." Resort to "uncaused causes" and the imputation of blame are unscientific and unsociological; they are also often impractical thoughtways since they lead neither to greater understanding of man nor to the correction of his problems.

(2) *Socialization.* Man is not so much born human as he is born potentially human. The learning process by which he acquires humanness varies widely in its content, consistency and technique and it is these variations which, with biological difference, largely explain the range of behaviors observed in mankind.

(a) Socialization—the acquisition of one's culture—is largely a function of primary groups.

(b) The socialization process limits and determines our conduct.

(c) It increases the predictability of behavior.

(d) Differential socialization produces different kinds of people.

(3) *Social Organization.* Every society develops a system of conduct norms and organizations that function to control behavior and define one's relations to others in the satisfaction of human needs.

(a) To the extent to which norms regulate behavior they make it predictable.

(b) Norms are one form of man's adaptation to his environment. They are largely creative, 'tho sometimes enacted; they are subject to change and they are powerful motivants.

(c) "Social Problems" may be viewed as products of changing and conflicting norms, and of norms ill suited to the needs of man in a specific environment.

(d) Freedom is a function of social organization. There is more than one meaning to this concept, and the kind and degree of freedom that obtains in a society will vary with its social organization.

(i) Aristotelian ("democratic") freedom requires interstices (opposition).

(ii) Psychological freedom (the absence of a feeling of restraint) is associated with more stable social organization.

(4) *Institutions*. To meet recurring needs man formalizes behavior with the consequence that he need not improvise his survival unduly. Institutions are part of the normative framework of social organization.

(a) Institutions are adaptive to man's environment, but not immediately so since man attaches sentiment to his formal norms and may adhere to them when they are no longer efficient.

(b) Every society has some institutional form for getting a living (economic norms), for maintaining and administering power (political), for transmitting and elaborating the cultural heritage (educational), for reproduction and nurturing (familial), for relating man to the cosmos and defining ultimate values (religious), and for symbolizing these values and the social organization (the arts).

(5) *Collective Behavior*. Social situations and human needs for which no adequate conduct norms have been developed will be subject to fugitive behaviors.

(6) *Social Processes*. Within every society man is related to others both as co-worker and as opponent. Opposition and cooperation are constants, but the forms taken by these interactional processes, their intensity and balance will vary.

(7) *Population*. Social norms and social organizations will vary, though not in a one-to-one relationship, with the number of people in a society and with the composition of the population.

(8) *Stratification*. All societies recognize differences among individuals and differential esteem is assigned to these differences.

(a) There is a wide variation in the range of esteem and in the qualities valued among societies.

(b) Societies vary with regard to mobility and communication between social strata.

(9) *Ethnic Relations*. All societies have divided people into "those like us" and "those who are different." The bases of such in-group/out-group classification and the range of such classification are variable.

(10) *Public Opinion and Private Attitudes*. Our ways of viewing the world are largely learned, though temperament may also be a conditioner of belief.

- (a) Our attitudes, beliefs, and public conceptions are principally a product of socialization and will vary with that process.
 (b) Adaptation to social change is a function, in part, of what one believes and knows. Who communicates with whom with what efficiency reflects social organization and, in turn, influences it.

(11) *Social Change*. Whether history is merely a chronicle of unique events or whether it is patterned is a function of the quality of one's abstractions (the tools with which he thinks) and their generality. Sociology attends to that which is more general. So focussed, it appears that there are repetitions in moral and political history occurring on the accelerating plane of science and its bride, technology. These latter variables are altering the rate of social change and they may reduce the generality of past "lessons of history."

A SUGGESTED CURRICULUM

The curriculum addressed to these "course concepts" will serve at least the following functions:

1. The provision of a liberal education.
2. The provision of a survey of the major fields of interest which today define sociology, and, hence,
3. The preparation of the student for graduate study not only in sociology, but also in social work, law, and cognate social studies.
4. The provision of "service courses" contributing to the goals of other departments and the college at large. Assuming the semester system and a normal student program of 16-17 semester hours (124-126 such units being required for graduation), the above functions seem to be fulfilled by this curriculum:

FRESHMAN YEAR

<i>First Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Second Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>
English Comp.—A	3	English Comp.—B	3
History of Western Civilization—A	3	History of Western Civilization—B	3
Intro. Biology—A	3-4	Intro. Biology—B	3-4
Intro. Sociology—A	3	Intro. Sociology—B	3
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total Units Required	12-13		12-13

SOPHOMORE YEAR

<i>First Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Second Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Intro. Psych.—A	3	Intro. Psych.—B	3
Intro. Statistics	3	Research Methods	3
Intro. Philosophy—A	3	Intro. Philosophy—B	3
Anthropology—A	3	Anthropology—B	3
Economics—A	3	Economics—B	3
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total Units Required	15		15

Summary of Lower Division Requirements: 54-56 units required out of a possible 64-68. The 8-14 unspecified hours to be divided among language, science, mathematics, art, music, and physical education.

JUNIOR YEAR

<i>First Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Second Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Marriage and the Family	3	Sociology of Conflict ⁵	3
Social Problems ⁴	3	Population Problems	3
Urban Sociology	3	Abnormal Psychology	3
		Genetics	3
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total Units Required	9		12

SENIOR YEAR

<i>First Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Second Semester</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Social Psychology—A (Public Opinion)	3	Social Psychology—B (Group Behavior)	3
Criminology	3	Social Stratification	3
Social Change	3	Sociological Theory	3
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total Units Required	9		9

Summary of Upper Division Requirements: 36-39 units required out of 60-68 possible. The unspecified hours to be elected from additional sociology and psychology, anthropology, economics, history, philosophy, political science, language, mathematics, or natural science. Depending upon individual interests, some recommended elective courses include:

⁴ Elective for the sociology major; largely a "service" course.

⁵ "Sociology of Conflict" is one way of offering the usual course in "Minority Group Relations." "Conflict," of course, is broader and includes industrial conflict, status envy, political conflict, and war.

Anthropology

Ethnology of Specific Cultures
Linguistics
Physical Anthropology

Economics

Business Cycles
Labor Economics
Modern Reform Movements

Philosophy

Comparative Religion
Ethics
Logic

Philosophy of Science
Symbolic Logic

Political Science

Comparative Government
History of Law and Legal Systems
Municipal Government

Psychology

Child Psychology
Clinical Psychology
Differential Psychology
Experimental Psychology

Learning Theory
Personality
Tests and Measurements

Sociology

Industrial Sociology
Medical Sociology
Research Methods, Advanced
Statistics, Advanced

Social Control
Culture and Personality
Social Movements

This curriculum can be realized with a staff of three sociologists teaching a maximum of twelve hours per week divided among three 3-unit courses per instructor per semester, and allowing for three hours per man of laboratory, quiz section, or sectioning of overly large classes. With this minimum staff, instructors would have five preparations and each course would be offered only once each year. A sixth preparation would be required if offerings were to include any of the electives mentioned above.

LIBERALIZING INSTRUCTION

A student once complained that his sociology course was "just one damn chapter after another." His complaint points to what is

needed if the student is to learn joyously and to be so pricked, prodded, and buffeted by unresolved questions that he will persist in inquiry after he has left campus. The requirements is for a theme, a leitmotiv, around which the course "facts" are grouped and in terms of which the facts get meaning.

The course themes serve not merely as intellectual hooks on which to hang facts but also as motivant for that interchange between students and teacher which is the zest of the learning-teaching complex. These "messages" flow, in good part, from just what sociology is—from the "course concepts" themselves. But since the study of man is yet far from rigorously scientific and since such science of man as we have remains "open," there is room for interpretation, and the interpretation is a reflection of the instructor's daimon expressed through the subject matter of behavioral science. This is to say that the leitmotiv carries the flavor of the teacher's personality—what he knows, what he has experienced, and what he values. There is an "outlook" implicit in the scientific study of man—a healthy and ethical one, we feel—that is filtered through the teacher's personal prism to the student. The student is himself a filter-system—he accepts, rejects, misinterprets, and reinterprets but all that the liberalizing function requires is that he have "gotten something" from the course, that is, that he be aware that he has been immersed in recurring themes which have varying degrees of validity and for which there is such-and-such evidence.

The sociologist's responsibilities in developing themes with which to flavor his courses are only that they do not abuse, while questioning, such facts as the profession is presently agreed upon and, more important, that they are given to the student as the "as if's" reached by one curious mind which reserves the right, next year, to change its judgment.

Each man will mark the well-taught course with his own distinctive themes. Any list, then, is presumptuous except as an illustration of the kind of leitmotiv that can flow from the scientific study of man and which, understood, is worthy of the modern freeman. Here are a few liberalizing themes:

(1) Knowledge is probable and contingent.⁶

(a) Since he is aware of the constancy of error, the liberally educated person does not resort to the defensive dogmatism

⁶ If this seems trite to the professional sociologist, he needs reminding that most students don't believe the truism and, more important, have difficulty living with uncertainty.

characteristic of those who allow no test of dicta other than "belief."

(b) Only certain kinds of question can be answered by "knowledge." Other kinds of question are either nonsensical or answerable by an act of faith. The liberally educated person knows when he is asking which.

(c) For questions which seem urgently to require answers not yet available, there are two recommended attitudes: stoicism and directed curiosity.

(2) ". . . unto every one that hath shall be given. . . ."

(a) Good things go together as do the bad.

(b) There is little evidence for Emerson's "law of compensation." The rich get richer and have more chances of being healthy, happy, intelligent, long-lived, and esteemed.

(c) Exceptions do not "prove" this or any other rule true; they *test* them.

(3) The Sense of Limits

(a) Not all things are possible. Neither Santa Claus nor Utopia exists and no professor has "the answer."

(b) There probably is no "answer."

(c) "Solutions" are feasible courses of action that do not cost more than the vice they cure.

(d) Some problems may have no "solution."

(4) "Du glaubst zu schieben, du wirst geshoben."

(a) Mephistopheles was right: Man is an effect at the same time that he is a cause.

(b) There is Fate. It resides in your times, your culture, and your character. You chose none of these; all were caused.

(c) Determinism is denied only when you think about it.

(d) Determinism is not fatalism, and in the liberally educated it does not reduce vitality or caution or involvement. "Bullets with my number on 'em" are slogans of the superstitious."

(5) "Courage is style under stress."

(a) Courage involves the ability to live with uncertainty in a determined world without resort to apathy or intelligence-numbing myth.

(b) Style, where it is personal, requires that one neither panic nor succumb.

(c) Such courage is an attitude much more justified by the facts of life as we now know them than such vogues as have on occasion moved college populations: radicalism, conservatism, fear, fanaticism, utopianism, indifference, the Cooperative Movement, and Zen.

These themes are, I believe, supported by our studies of human society. They are also congenial to the present-day interests of the free and fully functioning individual. They do not encompass all the attitudes I should like to recommend for the Bachelor of Arts—that he have developed esthetic and moral sensibility, and some manners—but these are best taught through consistently perceived models. As such, sociologists have no greater skill, nor less, than Humanists, and this becomes a task—in most cases, a belated one—of the entire faculty.

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THE ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY OF JAPANESE TEACHERS

Lawrence G. Thomas

This is a summary of a limited research project conducted in connection with a larger investigation, under the direction of Dean Kaigo of the Faculty of Education of Tokyo University, of changes in the aims of Japanese education since the conclusion of the American occupation. This project was conceived and carried out between October, 1957, and July, 1958, when the present writer was assigned to the Education Faculty at Tokyo University on a Fulbright research professorship.

Why this research? Many changes have occurred in Japanese education in the last ten years, but a standard is needed by which to judge whether these changes are desirable or undesirable. Such a standard is suggested broadly in the first Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan¹ in 1946: to promote the virtues of democracy in ways distinctively adapted to Japanese culture. A number of leading Japanese educators have published articles in the last decade² identifying the democratic values which Japanese education should stress: the dignity and individuality of all persons, freedom of the mind, equality, and intelligent cooperation.

Although these values are solid features of democracy, they are too general and vague to be used directly as standards for measuring the direction of trends in Japanese educational practices. We need what the physicist calls "operational definitions" or what the psychologist calls "behavioral definitions." When an effort is made to express broad generalizations about democracy in the operational language of human behavior, an unexpected outcome may occur: instead of only one behavioral definition of a concept emerging, two or three may appear. Each definition falls within the spirit of the broad generalization and can be found in popular practice among people who consider themselves democratic, and yet the several definitions may not be congruent or even compatible with each other.

From many years of trying to systematize the democratic values revealed in American policies and practices, the present writer has

¹U. S. Government Printing Office, Dept. of State Publication 2579, Far Eastern Series II, 1946, Washington, D. C.

²As examples, Gensaburo Yoshino, "The Restoration of the Missionary Spirit in Education," *Educational Survey*, May 1949; Osamu Kuno, "Yesterday's Education and Today's Education," *Iwanami Lecture Series on Education*, Vol. 3, 1952; Senroku Uehara, "The New Education and the Spirit of Democracy: A Symposium," *Education*, November 1955. All of these articles are in Japanese and were translated for the present writer by T. Horio and Y. Matsuno of Tokyo University.

concluded that there are at least three distinctive viewpoints operating in the United States, each of which can lay claim to being democratic. One is a "rugged individualism," which grew out of nineteenth-century liberalism and laissez-faire economics, and now, with some modification, represents the conservative position in American politics. Another is a "benevolent paternalism," fairly often found in American family life, the treatment of minority groups, some labor union leadership, and some public welfare administration. This viewpoint earnestly seeks to do what is best for other people as long as the initiative and control is retained by those best qualified to govern. A third view may be called "pragmatic liberalism," because it developed out of the thought of John Dewey. It is well known to American teachers, although not well understood by them. It seldom finds expression in American business or politics.

A few principles, illustrative of the character and coherence of each viewpoint, are listed below.

INDIVIDUALISM

1. Basic human nature is unchanging; it is rational, self-interested, pleasure-seeking, competitive, and freedom-loving.
2. Freedom is, in essence, the absence of restrictions.
3. Freedom is best guaranteed by individual competition under conditions of equal opportunity.
4. Equal opportunity means identical opportunity, so that the best qualified persons can rise to the top in every area or activity.
5. Each person should intelligently seek his own interests rather than seeking what he thinks is good for others.
6. The end never justifies the means, but proper means justify almost any outcome.

PATERNALISM

1. Present democratic institutions, slowly evolved through time in man's search for social forms that truly fit his nature, are better than any others so far known to man.
2. The privileges of freedom and equality properly follow the acknowledgment of, and respect for, duly constituted authority.
3. Most men prefer order and security to freedom, and prefer imposed discipline to self-discipline.
4. The good of the people is usually best achieved through the continued authority of the wisest, the most cultivated, and the most successful.
5. Unfortunately, the masses of common people do not understand and cannot understand the social implications of their personal wants.

6. As long as we keep democratic goals clearly in view, these ends justify any means we may need to use to attain a better society.

PRAGMATIC LIBERALISM

1. Human nature is not inherited biologically, but is a product of the interaction of the human organism with a social environment.

2. Freedom is the power to choose among the known alternatives with responsibility for the consequences.

3. Cooperative interdependence produces more significant personalities than does competitive independence.

4. Respect for individual differences calls for equitable opportunities more often than for equal (identical) opportunities.

5. Most people can find their own welfare as a by-product of seeking the common welfare as well as from pursuing their private welfare directly.

6. The ultimate authority for the good and the true is the experimental treatment of ordinary human experience.

Illustrations of these three interpretations of democracy can be found in current Japanese educational practices. Individualism strongly characterizes the examination system for admission to universities. Paternalism is well represented in the way the teacher efficiency rating system is being established in the prefectures. Pragmatic liberalism is expressed in the "free composition" movement and its use in modern curriculum development. These three viewpoints, therefore, seem applicable to Japan as well as to the United States. The first basic question which this investigation sought to answer may be stated thus: Are these viewpoints merely logical categories, useful for the philosophical analysis of democratic theory, or are they possibly coherent interpretations of the meaning of democracy which thoughtful persons actually use in their thinking on questions of social policy?

Constructing the questionnaire. To answer the above question, a questionnaire of 75 statements (25 for each viewpoint) was prepared. The first step in its construction was the collection of almost 200 items from many sources, both Japanese and American. After the elimination of duplications and ambiguous items representing more than one view of democracy, the 109 remaining statements were submitted to 13 professors from four universities in Tokyo, for their judgment on the proper placement of each item under *one* of the three viewpoints and for their criticism of the questionnaire in general. In response to their suggestions, 75 statements were selected, on which there had been high agreement concerning the single view-

point that each represented, and these were carefully re-translated into fluent, idiomatic Japanese.

The directions for answering the questionnaire called for two kinds of agreement (and disagreement) as well as an answer indicating "uncertain." The two kinds of agreement (and disagreement) were carefully phrased to indicate degrees of confidence in one's agreement, not degrees of feeling intensity. Thus the symbol + 2 meant "Agree; no important exceptions or reservations," while the symbol + 1 meant "Tend to agree, although there may be some important exceptions and you may wish you could modify one or two of the terms in the statement." Since we were interested only in the respondent's acceptance or rejection of each statement, regardless of his degree of confidence, each kind of agreement was scored as "plus one" and each kind of disagreement as "minus one."

Each set of 25 statements, representing a distinctive interpretation of democracy, was mixed with the other two sets, but not in a random fashion. To provoke the thinking of the respondent and to present him with explicit choices, we tried to list together those statements dealing with the same or a similar topic from each of the three viewpoints.

One hundred teachers in the Tokyo public schools were chosen at random for a trial run of the questionnaire. Without any follow-up, we received 60 replies, 59 of which were usable. The median time required to complete the questionnaire was reported as 35 minutes. The reliability of each set of 25 statements was computed separately, using the split-half method and Froelich's³ simplified formula. The reliability coefficient for paternalism was .69, for individualism was .96, and for pragmatic liberalism was .80.

Scoring the questionnaire. Any one statement in the questionnaire was designed to represent only one interpretation of democracy. As indicated above, either of the two kinds of agreement with the item was scored +1, "uncertain" was scored 0, and either of the two kinds of disagreement was scored -1. Since rejection of any statement belonging to a given viewpoint was considered as significant as acceptance of another statement under the same viewpoint, the score for that viewpoint became the arithmetical total of the plus and minus responses to the 25 items belonging to that viewpoint. Thus, the highest possible score on any one viewpoint would be +25, signifying agreement with all its statements, while the lowest possible score would be -25, signifying complete rejection. A completed questionnaire would yield a score for each viewpoint.

³ G. J. Froelich, "A Simple Index of Test Reliability," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXXII (1941), 381-85.

If thoughtful persons actually follow one or another of these democratic viewpoints and if the acceptance of one viewpoint means the rejection, as contradictory or irrelevant, of statements belonging to the two other viewpoints, we should expect consistent adherents to score high on one viewpoint (say, +10 or more) and low on the other two (say, -10 or lower). "Uncertain" persons would score in the middle ranges (say, +5 to -5) on all three viewpoints, and "confused" persons would score high on more than one viewpoint or, having scored high on one viewpoint, would fail to reject most of the statements belonging to the other two viewpoints.

Although these score criteria seemed reasonable, they could not have been applied to the 1500 questionnaire returns without classifying 96 percent of teachers as "confused." Consequently, the first 250 returns were studied with great care to develop new categories for distinguishing the differences in score patterns. Four new categories emerged: (1) The "liberals," who scored very high (at least +10 but well above that in most cases) on pragmatic liberalism, 0 or below on individualism, and low (-8 or below) on paternalism. These respondents comprised about 33 percent of the total group. (2) The "individualistic liberals," who rejected paternalism just as strongly as the first group did and accepted pragmatic liberalism almost as strongly, but who also showed a slight acceptance (+1 to +5) of individualism. These comprised about eight percent of the total group. (3) The "liberal individualists," who continued the rejection of paternalism, scored moderately high on pragmatic liberalism, but distinguished themselves by a score of +6 or higher on individualism. These comprised about six percent of the total group. (4) The "confused," who fell outside the specific score limits of the above three categories (no respondent scored in the "uncertain" zone, +5 to -5, on all three viewpoints nor revealed himself as an "anti-democrat" by scoring in the negative range on all three viewpoints). The "confused" comprised about 53 percent of the total group. This large a confused group among teachers may be a fair description of the facts, or it may be a product of faulty categories in which we tried to classify their thinking.

The questionnaire returns. Some 6,300 questionnaires were distributed during the first week of March, 1958, to public school teachers in the Kanto area, which consists of six prefectures (Chiba, Gumma, Ibaragi, Kanazawa, Saitama, and Tochigi) and one *To* (Tokyo). A random sample of three and one third percent of the elementary and junior high schools was taken, and a ten percent sample of the senior high schools and of the evening high schools.

On the basis of our experience with the trial run in February, we expected 3,500 replies in March, but only 1,500 (approximately 25 percent of the mailing) came back. These disappointing returns may have been due to the imminence of the closing of school about the middle of March, and our follow-up efforts during the first week of April, when the new term commenced, were not productive. Such low returns denied us ground for generalizing about the democratic viewpoints of the teachers in the Kanto area. The best we could do was to seek promising hypotheses for further research from an analysis of the returns of two small groups which held some claim to being distinctively representative.

The first group was provided by 45 elementary schools, scattered throughout the seven prefectures, from which 50 percent or more of the teaching staff responded to the questionnaire. The number of teachers replying from these 45 cooperating schools was 488. Each of these respondents filled out an information blank which identified his sex, the size of the school's enrollment, the level of the school's instruction (grades 1-3, grades 4-6, junior high school, senior high school, evening high school), the number of years of his teaching experience, the kind of school in which he had completed his education (seven categories were listed, but the chief distinction made was between an "academic" education and a "professionalized" education), the type of community in which his present school was located (eight community types were listed, but three were characteristically rural and three others were large-city or metropolitan areas), the type of community in which he had grown up as a child, and the principal occupation of his father or guardian. This information enabled us to sub-group the teachers according to these variables and to identify any differences among the sub-groups in their distribution among the four ideological categories.

The second group consisted of only 47 teachers out of the 1,500 respondents, but they represented the most clearly liberal—i.e., those who *accepted* a high number of the pragmatic liberal statements and at the same time *rejected* a large number of the individualistic and paternalistic statements. The score limits for these 47 "purest liberals" were as follows: a score for pragmatic liberalism of +15 or higher, a score for individualism of -6 or lower, and a score for paternalism of -11 or lower. The largest number (14) of the "purest liberals" came from Tokyo, but every prefecture was represented and only one (Gumma) had as few as four. In most other respects these "purest liberals" were also representative: 28 were men and 16 were women; 12 had 1-4 years of teaching experience

and 16 had 15 or more years; 28 were teaching in urban communities and 19 in rural villages; 21 were elementary school teachers, 16 were junior high school teachers, and 8 were senior high school teachers. Only in the size of their school were they maldistributed: 30 taught in schools of 500 or more pupils (representing almost a third of all public schools) while only two taught in schools enrolling 200 pupils or less (roughly another third of all public schools). These "purest liberals" were used to help validate the assignment of questionnaire items to each of the three viewpoints on democracy, and a special study was made of the 22 "controversial" statements upon which they did not give a predominantly liberal response.

Questionnaire items of doubtful validity. Although five expert students of democratic theory were involved in the construction of the final set of 75 items in the questionnaire and agreed on the final classification by types of viewpoint, independent corroboration was sought from other experts. An item was termed "very doubtful" if as many as two of these four judges failed to assign that item to the ideological category for which it was intended. Ten of the 75 items received this classification, and they are listed below, with the nature of the disagreement indicated in parentheses:

8. Most pupils have no more interest in their educational growth than earning their diploma and getting a good job. (Intended to be paternalistic, but classified by three of the judges as individualistic)

13. If the children cannot develop any interest in the subject matter selected by the teacher, we cannot be sure that they ought to learn it. (Intended to be pragmatic liberalism, but considered individualistic by two judges)

23. Nearly everyone, by the time he reaches the age of 20 [voting age in Japan], has the necessary ability and understanding to participate competently in politics and civic affairs. (Intended to be individualistic, but classified as pragmatic liberal by one judge and as both liberal and individualistic by two others)

26. It is realistic policy for the schools to try to develop a majority of citizens who find their own good as a by-product of making thoughtful contributions to the common welfare. (Intended to be pragmatic liberal, but classified as paternalistic by one judge and as both paternalistic and individualistic by another)

35. In deciding what should be taught in the classroom, each teacher should be free from the influence of the principal and the school board. (Intended to be individualistic, but considered to be pragmatic liberal by three of the judges)

47. Each child should receive identical opportunities in school so as to find out which children are best in each subject. (Intended to be individualistic, but considered pragmatic liberal by one judge and double-classified by two others)

51. The teacher will probably have very little need to enforce discipline

if the students have a significant share in selecting goals, making assignments, and evaluating results of their study. (Intended to be pragmatic liberal, but considered individualistic by one judge and double-classified as both individualistic and liberal by another)

70. In resolving conflicting views on such questions as rating teacher efficiency or re-establishing "moral education," the method of struggle and compromise is better and more realistic than trying to achieve consensus or relying on the decisions of authorities. (Intended to be individualistic, but classified as paternalistic by one judge and as "none" by another)

73. In times of disagreement and conflict between a principal and a teachers' organization, the best solution is probably to let each side bargain with the other until a half-way compromise is reached. (Intended to be individualistic, but considered to be pragmatic liberal by two of the judges and double-classified as both individualistic and liberal by the other two)

74. The best way to settle a serious disagreement among teachers on an important school policy is to take a vote and insist that the majority decision be followed by everyone. (Intended to be individualistic, but classified as pragmatic liberal by one judge, as paternalistic by another, and as both individualistic and liberal by still another)

Hypotheses for further research. On the basis of a statistical analysis (Chi Square) of the returns of the 488 elementary school teachers in the 45 schools from which fifty percent or more of the teachers responded and on the basis of a careful inspection of the responses of the 47 "purest liberals" to seven controversial statements in the questionnaire, the following conclusions are drawn, and offered as promising hypotheses to guide more definitive research.

1. The three interpretations of democracy used in this study were readily accepted as useful, logical categories of analysis by two groups of independent judges, but the prospect that these categories actually function as coherent, mutually exclusive theories of democracy in the decision-making of thoughtful persons looks very bad indeed. Before hope is abandoned, however, we urge two further tests: (1) try this latter hypothesis again on a widely representative sample of Japanese teachers, for which 60-70 percent returns are obtained; (2) try the same hypothesis on a widely representative sample of American teachers for which similarly high returns can be obtained.

2. When teachers from the smallest schools (enrolling 1-200 pupils) are compared with teachers from the largest schools (enrolling over 500 pupils), there appears to be a significant difference in their interpretations of democracy, although the present evidence does not clearly indicate in which direction the greater liberalism lies.

3. The possible influence of school level could not be adequately tested with a sample group of only elementary school teachers, but the differences among the "purest liberals" by school level suggest

some interesting hypotheses. On the one hand, the lower the school level, the greater is the tendency to be benevolently protective toward children and to focus on their interests in present living. On the other hand, the higher the school level, the greater is the tendency to rely on the students' judgment and to reject authoritative prescription. It should be remembered that these hypotheses are not confirmed by our limited data but are suggested by certain observed differences among the most liberal teachers.

4. An extremely promising hypothesis for further research, well supported by our data for elementary school teachers, is that the younger, recently trained teachers of least experience tend to take the pragmatic liberal position considerably more frequently than do the older, experienced teachers of pre-war training. There is some suggestion, however, from the responses of the "purest liberals," that the younger teachers will take a more individualistic position on some items than the older teachers will.

5. A number of our original hypotheses regarding differences in democratic attitudes among teachers were based on the anticipated influence of various types of communities in which the schools were located. Some of these hypotheses seemed to be supported by the tabulated returns, and a few seemed to be contradicted, but the Chi Square test showed that each of these observed differences could easily be due to chance. However, the following hypotheses look sufficiently promising to justify their guidance of further research:

a. The largest proportions of pragmatic liberals are found among teachers in mountain villages, mining villages, and large-city industrial areas.

b. The smallest proportions of pragmatic liberals are found among teachers in farm villages and in the commercial-service and residential zones of large cities.

c. Mining villages, where many of the workers are organized in labor unions, probably have comparatively large proportions of liberals among their teachers, whereas fishing villages, tending to have a culture like farm villages, probably have comparatively small proportions of liberals among their teachers. On these grounds, mining and fishing villages should be studied separately, instead of together as they were initially in this investigation.

6. The influence of the type of community in which the teacher grew up appears to be more certainly correlated with differences in democratic viewpoint than that of the community type in which the teacher is now working. The following hypotheses are clearly

supported by statistical analyses of the data for elementary school teachers.

- a. Significantly larger proportions of pragmatic liberal teachers are found among those who grew up in mountain villages and in fishing and mining villages than among those who grew up in farm villages and in the commercial-service and residential areas of large cities. It is suspected that these differences would have been even sharper if the information blank had made it possible to study teachers who grew up in fishing villages separately from teachers who grew up in mining villages.
- b. Significantly larger proportions of pragmatic liberal teachers are found among those who grew up in large-city industrial areas than among those who grew up in large-city commercial-service areas.

An unexpected trend appearing in the statistical analysis suggests that there may be a larger proportion of liberal teachers coming from large-city residential areas than from large-city commercial-service areas.

7. When the sample of elementary school teachers was classified according to nine categories of parental occupations, no differences in the interpretations of democracy were safely beyond an explanation by chance, but the statistical analysis suggested that the following hypotheses deserve further exploration.

- a. Smaller proportions of pragmatic liberal teachers are found among those whose fathers were rural laborers (farming, fishing, forestry) than among those whose fathers were government clerks, semi-skilled and unskilled urban laborers, skilled laborers, sales and service workers, and professional and technical workers.
- b. Smaller proportions of liberal teachers are found among those whose fathers were also teachers than among those whose fathers were skilled laborers, government clerks, and semi-skilled and unskilled urban laborers.
- c. Smaller proportions of liberal teachers are found among those whose fathers were business managers and government officials than among those whose fathers were government clerks, semi-skilled and unskilled urban laborers, and rural laborers.

8. Finally, it is instructive to list some hypotheses which seemed plausible on the grounds of empirical observations in Japan or of previous research, but which *received no support whatsoever from our preliminary results.*

- a. Women teachers differ significantly from men teachers in their interpretation of democracy.
- b. An academic collegiate education produces a larger number of liberal teachers than a "professionalized" education does. In all fairness it should be said, however, that the sample upon which this hypothesis was tested was not only limited to the elementary school but to a small number of the older teachers.
- c. Smaller proportions of liberal teachers are found among those who grew up in farm villages than among those who grew up in the industrial, commercial-service, or residential zones of large cities.
- d. Larger proportions of liberal teachers are found among those who grew up in large-city industrial areas than among those who grew up in any of the several types of rural villages.
- e. Larger proportions of liberal teachers are found among those who grew up in large-city industrial areas than among those who grew up in large-city residential areas.
- f. Larger proportions of liberal teachers are found among those whose fathers were engaged in skilled labor than among those whose fathers were business managers and government officials.

Next steps. The Japanese form of the questionnaire is now in the hands of Professor Shimizu of Tokyo University's Faculty of Education. He has hopes of refining it and using it again, this next time including other groups besides principals and teachers—e.g., school superintendents, members of school boards, government officials (especially those in the Ministry of Education), parents, and even high school students—whose attitudes also affect the conduct of education. Such a wide sample should provide an excellent basis for understanding present educational trends in Japan in the light of democratic values, predicting future trends if no basic change in viewpoints occurs, and diagnosing the nature of the ideological problem if a basic change in democratic attitudes is desired.

An English-language form of the questionnaire, while not precisely comparable with the Japanese version because of cultural differences in the illustrative material, is now under preparation for administration to a sample of California teachers. If reliable categories can be found for distinguishing two or three coherent but different interpretations of democracy, a wider sample of American teachers will be sought and efforts made to coordinate the American and Japanese forms of the questionnaire for further research.

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"WHY HASN'T FOREIGN AID MADE FOREIGN FRIENDS?"

Frank E. Wolf

At this writing, our Marines are endeavoring to pull our Near East chestnuts out of the fire; kingdoms have toppled or are veering; and we find ourselves at a new Maginot line along the U.S.S.R.-Syrian border. We have progressed from chronic to acute brinkmanship.

The usefulness of foreign aid has been questioned in view of the toppling of King Faisal and anti-Americanism elsewhere. This attitude is short-sighted.

Foreign aid can be an instrument which would ultimately work in our favor if it were properly administered and based upon universal principles of human dynamics.

In the overall plan for foreign aid, goodwill and sound international relations will be established when the foundation of that aid is firmly based upon a basic concept of human relations which includes mutual acceptance. A nation seeking acceptance by another nation, and desirous of helping that nation, must follow psychologically sound principles which would tend to support the other's national ego. At the very least, challenges to the security of the other nation should be avoided. Insecurity *may* breed aggressive or resistive behavior patterns.

With this in mind, the following sixteen principles are set forth as the minimum guideposts in evaluating our past and present foreign aid programs, and in developing new bases for future foreign aid planning. These principles will also help in making acceptance of the donor possible. Without this acceptance, there can be no long-range understanding established.

The need for aid should be recognized and expressed by the recipient. Although it is possible for an "outsider" to know what is best for those in another country, it is highly unlikely that such knowledge will be accepted readily; even if it were accepted, it is even more unlikely that such knowledge would be put to any use. Much is said and written today concerning national sovereignty and supranational sovereignty. But the development of these concepts will be invalidated unless the sovereignty of the individual is taken into account. To offer advice to an individual who has not asked for it is to ignore a basic principle of human dynamics. To do this on an international basis is to compound such ignorance.

When this writer was in Burma as a Fulbright science supervisor, projects in his area were successful when they were requested by

the indigenous people; projects were failures when they were imposed. The very simplicity of this principle seems to lend itself to suspicion on the part of those who plan foreign aid programs.

Planning should include the lower echelons. Whether the foreign aid is technical or educational in nature, the inclusion of this principle is vital if long-range success is looked for. In education, plans for self-improvement of teachers through in-service training provided by foreign aid technicians should involve the lower educational echelons in the districts, even where a country has a centralized system of education with capital-city decision-making. If aid is to be effective, great weight must be placed on indigenous teachers—or indigenous technicians—who will carry on the program after the aid period has ended. Local desires may be made known through democratic participation in exploratory sessions.

The cultural surrogate (technical or educational aid person) *and the indigenous worker should meet as equals.* While there are many inequalities that cannot and perhaps should not be altered, the cultural surrogate will relate to his co-worker in a more positive fashion if both are as nearly equal in status as possible. Where this writer was asked to help indigenous teachers, he did so at their request and as their equals and was successful. However, where he was assigned to supervise unwilling supervisees, as their superior, he failed.

The artifacts of equality should be equal. Ill-will, due to a vast disparity between the salary, means of transportation, and housing facilities of technicians could be avoided. Foreign aid program planners can hardly expect to create a climate of cooperation and understanding if technicians are sent to other countries to live "in a manner to which they would like to become accustomed." Technicians should not have special homes with conveniences unknown to local people, nor personal service which traditionally characterizes the colonial administrative classes. Such special treatment raises barriers of doubt and distrust on the part of the people whom he has come to serve. If United States citizens are encouraged to live in a manner which emulates the way in which colonial administrators lived, they are likely to become victims of reflected animosity.

There is evidence that program planners feel a Westerner would lose face if he did not have a motor vehicle, even in areas where such a vehicle is not only luxurious (and highly improbable due to poor road conditions), but is rarely, if ever, seen. Rather than lose face without a motor vehicle, the technician would gain face, it would seem, by offering to live in equal dignity with those with whom he works.

International understanding should grow naturally from concerted efforts of the participants. A committee designated to improve international relations is less likely to be successful than a group of people from different countries working together on a project of common concern; out of which comes not only the solution of their problem, or successful completion of their project, but also greater international cooperation and understanding. This by-product may be more important than the project's completion itself; yet without the project, this same "by-product" might be attained temporarily and then disappear into oblivion.

The professional host community should be oriented to the purposes and nature of foreign aid. The lack of understanding the objectives of a foreign aid program on the part of indigenous teachers and technicians may often result in a "Do this FOR us" reaction. While the purposes of the recipient may vary from those of the donor, aid to be most effective must be directed toward helping indigenous peoples help themselves. In one of this writer's projects in Burma—helping initiate a high school pre-medical program—the pre-medical teachers had no idea that this educator could or should help them do their work themselves, in preparation for continuing work following my departure from Burma. Had the officials involved oriented the pre-medical teachers to the role of a foreign aid technician, these teachers might have sought help. Instead, they thought they would get temporary help in doing their jobs.

A working knowledge of the foreign language should be achieved prior to departure. Whether English is understood or not, the cultural surrogate will indicate his respect for the host culture by learning its language. While I knew little Burmese, the people reacted positively to what I did know. Even when English is well understood, or an interpreter readily available, a knowledge of the language of the host country would probably indicate to indigenous persons that the surrogate is concerned enough about them to learn their language. Hence, a tentative climate of acceptance might be created.

Current information, as well as historical information, should be available to and sought by the cultural surrogate. Orientation of those who plan to go overseas as personnel in a foreign aid program would be enhanced if policy planners in this country would make use and offer for distribution reports of returning personnel in the same or similar programs. There is a definite need for current knowledge of a host country, as distinct from historical knowledge. Culture

is dynamic and has within it constantly changing facets. To be aware of new changes will better prepare the technician in his work and the successful completion of his projects.

Demonstrations of democratic procedure and behavior in practical situations should be made wherever possible. Rapport is established as a result of equal interpersonal contact and through educational or technical programs illustrating in action a democratic relationship between the participants. Technicians can demonstrate by behaviors the best in democratic procedure to show that they practice what they preach. The abilities which need to be learned in order to develop democratic procedures can be taught in one area of responsibility—such as a class learning to operate a tractor—and these abilities are then capable of transfer to the national and international levels.

An optimistic attitude may result in desirable outcomes. One Fulbright teacher wrote the investigator from Burma that when he came, he should not be disappointed if he accomplished nothing more than doing demonstrations for science teachers. "The hardest part of the job is getting used to doing nothing," was a quotation often heard prior to this technician's arrival in Burma. However, these statements do not seem to be justifiable guides. Progress was made in some areas where *predicted* obstacles would have precluded progress. Projected cultural lag may be an excuse for not trying, but not an excuse for not succeeding when the battle has been lost by default. From the educational history of Burma, one might predict that a democratic classroom could not succeed. Orientation in Rangoon included the fact that students would not participate in class discussion. Yet it was found that students were readily led into open discussions and democratic participation.

Close association with indigenous personnel will tend to create confidence of the cultural surrogate. Aid to foreign countries, like advice to individuals, is often suspect as a method of aggrandizement on the part of the aider or advisor. Through close personal association in work projects and in purely social and intellectual pursuits, a base upon which to build confidence is made possible. Such confidence can be the most important factor operating to make the specific project a success and even more, turn the concept of international understanding into a daily reality.

Cultural surrogates' reports, both written and verbal, should be assembled for analysis by policy makers. On April 27, 1956, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles were reported to have changed their foreign policy from questioning the wisdom of neutrality to emphasizing the right of neutrality and promising aid to

nations, even though they might not align themselves with the West. Unfortunately, the U.S.S.R. had already taken this stand. Russia had begun to implement its aid programs to neutral nations without making demands of allegiance as a condition for aid. Thus, it appears that the United States arrived at this policy decision rather late. It is doubtful that Asian neutral nations would be influenced by the United States change since it followed U.S.S.R. establishment of the precedent.

The Department of State has an excellent opportunity to profit from the observations of cultural surrogates based on their experiences abroad. Had this been standard operating procedure, it is possible that the U. S. would have taken the pressure off the aided countries to align themselves with the West; suspicions of U. S. aid might have decreased; and the U. S. would not, perhaps, have had to second the U.S.S.R.'s change in aid direction, but rather would have initiated this change.

The process of cultural surrogation is twofold: aid persons are sent to other countries to learn the foreign cultures, while interpreting the U. S. to those cultures; and interpreting the foreign cultures to the U. S. The Department of State might do well to seek information upon which to base a consistent foreign policy. Cultural surrogates might be called together at the end of each year for an open discussion and defense of their recommendations so that useful data could be incorporated into the final assay upon which decisions are made.

Unfortunately, however, the success of a cultural surrogate is often measured in terms of the social and athletic functions in which he participates, rather than on the scholarly analyses he may make of the situations as he perceives them. Such criteria are hardly valid in evaluating outcomes of educational and technical projects within the frame of reference of increasing international understanding.

The masses of a population are permanent; the officials are transitory; therefore, the cultural surrogate's major efforts should be with the masses. The International Information Administration is actively seeking to create favorable climates of opinion of the United States in foreign countries. Although there is no written data to substantiate the following statements, they are the essence of private discussions held with officials of the U. S. in Burma.

Fulbright personnel were expected to promote public relations with officials who were on the next lower level to the president, prime minister, and cabinet members. It was expected that major efforts would be directed toward the area governors, assistant gov-

ernors, inspectors of schools and other officials of the division. Parties and golf club activities were expected. Beyond this obligation, the technician was free to work out his own plans for improving international understanding. It was felt that officials are transitory, therefore, it would be of more permanent significance to work with the commonweal in achieving objectives. This technician planned to devote his major efforts to the portion of the population with which he had closest contact; namely, the school personnel on his own level and the students.

The Department of State needs to explore the concept of working with people, rather than with authority. Foreign aid does not include concepts of propagandizing; if it does, it defeats its main objective of increasing international understanding. For only if friendship is based on firm, factual, open-mindedness, will it be of a permanent nature.

The United States Department of State should take a firm, consistent, stand on basic issues. The U. S. and its cultural surrogates are viewed with suspicion in some Asian countries because the U. S. does not take a consistent stand. It backed the Indonesians against the Dutch, *but* Secretary of State Dulles backed Portugal by his ill-advised references to Goa.

The process of cultural surrogation is inhibited in an atmosphere of distrust and dissatisfaction arising from former colonial peoples' unfulfilled desires to see the United States champion their freedom and the freedom of sister countries.

Foreign aid to be effective must be based on clear, consistent principles. It is believed that the Department of State should take a strong, positive stand to extend a helping hand, with obligations unattached, to aid countries seeking their destinies as they conceive them to be; rather than as the U. S. would necessarily approve them to be.

Concepts of giving should be re-examined. In administering foreign aid, the Department of State would do well to consider some of the basic concepts of the Sermon on the Mount. The "American Barker" need not sound the trumpet before granting loans from the U. S. If we intend to convince foreign peoples of the sincerity of U. S. citizens who are providing the aid, we should de-emphasize aid as a weapon against Communism. The process of giving involves receiving, and the role of the recipient needs to be examined. The recipient is beholden to the donor. When the recipient is ambivalent to the gift and beholden besides, only ill-will can develop. Some means must be devised to reduce the indebtedness-feelings of recipient coun-

tries. Perhaps a barter system could be arranged in which the recipient country could make token payments for its gifts. This is a necessary intermediate step between the time when the U. S. can give openly and other nations can receive graciously, without thought of payment. This condition would seem to depend on trust, acceptance, and understanding on both parts, but this has not yet been achieved.

Policy planners should find the means to help build national egos. It would appear that the Department of State needs to find additional areas in which its cultural surrogates may function effectively in the establishment of good international relations.

Areas should be explored in which the United States may help shore-up national egos. Such support of Asian nations might take the form of helping Burma, for example, establish an institute of sub-ethnic languages. The U. S. might create goodwill by expressing an interest in the indigenous art forms of other peoples by participating in or sponsoring a rebirth of interest. Burmese musicians could be invited to tour the United States and U. S. cultural surrogates might go to Burma to study the indigenous music.

In the final analysis, there is a basic ethical philosophy throughout mankind in the expression of Eastern and Western religious teachings. Any other distinctions are infinitesimal. Upon these common beliefs and aspirations of mankind—the Sermon on the Mount, the Ten Commandments, and the Eight-Fold Path of Buddha—lay the destiny of man.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Heart Is the Teacher. By Leonardo Covello with Guido D'Agostino. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

In an ingenuous fashion, this autobiography presents a moving and interesting story of a good man's career and the satisfactions he found in it. But more than that it is a story of faith in the practical nature of democracy. It sounds naive to use such a phrase today, but Dr. Covello's interesting book warrants such a description. This is a volume that can be read in one swift evening. It will re-awaken in the reader a devotion to the simple truths we tend to forget in the bustle of everyday life. The administrator will think about why he is administering; the teacher will think about why he is teaching;

and the layman may think about why he is doing whatever he is doing.

The story of the immigrant boy who struggled to educate himself, the people who helped him and the way in which he repaid their investment in him by helping thousands of others, is not unknown to us. It is the glory of our country and the truth of its social mobility that we all know other stories of Leonard Covello's. What distinguishes this book from others that have been written is that it tells the story of a pioneer in education who made education a vital force for good in the community. What is more, as the population changed in this community, Dr. Covello did the job all over again for every new immigrant group and their children.

In the telling of this story, the backgrounds of a great number of interesting innovations in education are revealed. The community projects begun by Dr. Covello, his relationships with political figures, university leaders, and "problem adolescents" are all discussed in fascinating detail. In this respect the book is a one volume course in community education and an eloquent description of the kinds of things a teacher and a principal can do in a difficult community situation. It will be useful as collateral reading because the situations covered are not different than many situations which are present in the urban school district today. I can recall my visits to Dr. Covello's school as a supervisor of student teachers and I can remember sitting in his office while my student teachers watched him discuss world local affairs, during lunch, with a dozen boys who had been "problems" at school. It was a good lesson for me as well as my students. In its own way, this book will be a "review lesson" for many who are tired and in need of "rejuvenation."

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In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan. By John W. Bennett, Herbert Passin and Robert K. McNight. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1958.

This study begins to explore one of the outstanding problems involved in social change, namely what happens to people's sense of identity. The behavior of the Japanese scholar provides excellent data for such exploration. One of the unusual phenomena of our times is that a nation of people, defeated as they were by an outside

military force, could come to accept their conquerors as models for their reconstructed life. The Japanese scholar has not had it easy as he has been caught in the ideological begates related to his nation's planning. If one could offer a criticism of the study it would perhaps lie in the limitations of present methodology. It would be interesting indeed to have the thoroughgoing analysis of the data presented by a person such as Kurt Lewin whose insight might indicate what these changes of "life space" mean.

At any rate the problem of identity has many ramifications. The question the reviewer asks himself is whether the present attitudes represent the shock effect of the traumatic national disaster including as it did Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or whether this type reaction to disaster represents a new mutation in the field of forces in which the Japanese operate. If it is the former, one would suspect that after the numbing effects of the trauma have passed there would be a heavy undertow of hostility toward the conquerors. If it is the latter, we have great need to understand it better for the enormous changes pending in the world about us need to be guided to prevent the kinds of reactions which characterized the Germany which followed World War I.

This is a very good study from which to begin these further examinations.

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Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach. By William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958.

The authors have done a real service in bringing together this book of readings. They represent an anthropological compilation that should be a handy reference for teachers and students who are examining this kind of institutional phenomena. One wishes that some of these social anthropologists could stand outside our own culture and describe what is happening to us in the way in which they have done with these simpler societies. The present return to the church, the psychological emphasis in present religion, the growth of the church as a social center raise serious questions which need objective examination.

One wonders if this limitation in the literature stems from the inability to achieve objectivity or from the fear of the religious shaman.

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